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CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.

Free Coinage of Gold and Silver.

Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.

Opposition to Trusts.

Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.

Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, i. e., The Initiative and Referendum.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

TO our readers we offer two apologies: First for failure to furnish last week's paper; second, for the devotion of this week's paper to the Omaha conferences to the exclusion of almost all else, not an apology for the amount of space devoted to the conferences, for their importance deserves it, but for the want of comment on current events. As excuse we submit as ameliorating circumstances, first that there was such a warm time out at Omaha and the Populist conferences were so unexpectedly prolonged that before we could get copy ready we were

well into the present week, and second that the editor's mind has been so occupied with the Omaha meetings that he has quite lost the train of current events and must study up and catch up before essaying to comment.

Call for
Peoples Party National Convention,
by
The National Organization Committee.

Monday, September 5th, the Time,

Cincinnati Ohio, the Place.

AT THE conclusion of an all night session of the National Committee, at which the Fusionists, led by Senators Butler and Allen, the former from the chair, rejected all propositions for compromise and that might heal the dissension in the committee, refused to give assurance that the independence of the Peoples party would be preserved and declined to call a national convention of the Peoples party that the rank and file might pass on the question of whether the Peoples party should be held in dependence upon the Democratic party or preserve its identity and independence, pass on the question as to whether it were wisest to put trust in the Democratic party to carry out the reforms of the Peoples party, a vain hope, or put trust in ourselves and the Peoples party, wisest to build up the Democratic or the Peoples party to attain the recognition of the principles of Populism, of free government, of equality, of liberty, the National Organization Committee of the Peoples party met about 4 A. M., June 17th, upon call of Chairman Park, and as soon as the fusionists had left the hall, to take such action as would save the Peoples party. After the transaction of some routine business adjournment was taken to meet in the Paxton Hotel, Omaha, at 1 o'clock on the afternoon of the same day. On reassembling the National Organization Committee of the Peoples party, Milton Park in the chair, adopted the following address to the Populists of the United States and called the National Nominating Convention of the Peoples party to meet in Cincinnati, Ohio, September 5th, 1898.

Chairman Butler willing or unwilling, the Peoples party still lives.

TO THE POPULISTS OF THE UNITED STATES:—

AT THE instance of the Reform Press Association there was held at Nashville, Tenn., July 4th a year ago, a conference of those Populists who were firm in the conviction that the Peoples party was born to live, not to die, who were resolved to build up the Peoples party out of the wreck of 1896 and so make a party standing for the principles of true democracy, the equality of opportunity to all, special privileges for none, a party to which men could turn who find the Democratic and Republican parties false to the principles of true democracy that they profess

to venerate, ready to betray the people, prompt to serve the moneyed oligarchy. If our Republic is to be preserved, if liberty and equality are to obtain recognition, if a democracy is to have the chance to unfold in the United States it is imperative that there should be a party standing for the people, not alone parties whose acts and moves are influenced by, if not taken at the behest of the oligarchy of wealth. Leave the struggle for the rule of this people between two parties both servers of the moneyed oligarchy, differing not in character, only in their outward color, two parties such as the Democratic and Republican parties are, parties fighting—not over principles—but over the spoils of office, over the right to rule which to them means to despoil and the moneyed oligarchy will rule, then the Republic cease to exist. Therefore the Peoples party cannot be permitted to perish, cannot unless we would have the Republic also perish. But standing for justice and truth, standing for that which is right, standing for men and against oppression, for democracy and against oligarchy, the Peoples party cannot perish, for justice and truth are eternal, as they will in the end prevail so will the Peoples party.

Justice and truth may be crushed to earth but only to rise again. So, too, may the Peoples party. Indeed it has been crushed down under the weight of fusion, under the weight of trafficking with a party false to the interests of the people, true to the moneyed oligarchy, but freeing itself from that taint, highly resolving to sacrifice men for principle but not principle that a few men may have office and the emoluments thereof, it raises itself again.

At the Nashville conference representing Populists thus highly resolving that the Peoples party should be revived, continue to live and conquer as a party of the people, not of spoils, live so that the triumph of the Peoples party would mean the conquest of the moneyed oligarchy, this committee was called into being. It was called into being by those who look upon the attainment of office as a means to promote principle, not upon declarations of principle as a means to obtain office, who seek the reins of government not for the spoils of office, but to promote the general welfare, the material well-being, the enlightenment, the happiness of mankind. So called into being, the duty devolved upon this committee of watching over the conduct of those holding official positions in the party and using such positions to betray and destroy their party; it devolved upon us to take such steps as would crush the power of those leaders to destroy, such action as would build up the Peoples party, preserve its identity, make of it a party capable of serving the people, of fighting the moneyed oligarchy as represented by the old parties, with success.

For two years the Peoples party has been tied hand and foot by the course of those in official positions who have sought to use that party for their self preferment and incidentally the strengthening of the Democratic party. Instead of gathering accretions as it should and as it would as the recognized party of true democracy, it has repelled recruits. Men have been repelled from joining the Peoples party for they could feel no assurance that the Peoples party would live as a party of the people, a party living to promote their welfare or as a party of office-seekers as the Democratic and Republican parties; because they knew not whether the Peoples party was to continue to live or to be absorbed into the Democratic.

And this day the majority of the National Committee has summarily resolved that the party that enunciated what we fondly style the second Declaration of Independence, the Omaha platform, is not fitted, cannot be trusted, to exist as an independent party, but must be held in dependence to one of the two old parties, whose misrule, whose subserviency to the moneyed oligarchy, whose exalting money above man made the occasion for the birth of the Peoples party and the proclamation of a second Declaration of Independence, of independence of the

money power. Aye, the majority of the National Committee has done more, it has undertaken to declare that the Populists of the United States shall be denied the opportunity to express themselves before 1900 on issues vital to the Peoples party, vital to the American people. It has undertaken to say that until 1900 at least the National Committee shall be the judge of what is Populism, the sole judge of what is a proper course for the Peoples party to pursue. It has denied the right of the rank and file to vote on questions of party policy. If such a policy, such a usurpation of authority is to obtain acceptance as a part of the creed of Populism then the Peoples party is dead. Unless the course of that committee is repudiated the Peoples party and the cause it represents cannot be saved. As lovers of our country and our fellow-men we must see that it is saved.

To put the Peoples party in its true light before the American people, to make it a party of force and power, a party of growth and future, not a party disintegrating and of the past, it was perfectly evident to your committee that the Populists of the country must speak out to the American people and make evident that some holding high official positions were misrepresenting them, were not looked upon as Populists but regarded as traitors; speak out, and announce by inaugurating an earnest and active campaign that the Peoples party has come to live and not to die, that it is a peoples party, that it stands for the principles of true democracy, equality of opportunity for all, special privileges to none, and show that it stands alone in this advocacy. To this end your committee assembled in St. Louis in January last and outlined plans for the holding of a National Convention that such announcement of the Peoples party could be authoritatively made. But observant of the spirit of true populism, the promulgation of these plans was delayed until the sense of the rank and file could be taken as to the questions raised, to wit: Whether it was wise to hold a National Convention this year to outline a plan of campaign for the Peoples party or not and second, as to whether the National Nominating Convention should be held on July 4th, 1898, May 23d, 1899, or February 22d, 1900.

To this end a referendum vote was ordered taken which has resulted in showing a vast preponderance of opinion, almost amounting to unanimity, as to the advisability of holding the National Nominating Convention of the Peoples party on July 4th next, and entering actively upon the campaign that will only close in November, 1900. But as waiting in the vain hope that the National Committee, responsive to the voice of the people, would issue the call for such convention, has brought us to a day so late as to make the selection of delegates to such convention by many states quite out of the question, and the holding of a representative convention at such time impossible, we can but give practical effect to this referendum vote, carry out the evident intent and desire of the members of the Peoples party by calling the convention to meet September 5th, at Cincinnati, Ohio.

That there is general agreement of Populists as to the advisability of holding an early convention cannot be questioned, and to this agreement we must give effect. There is this agreement because it is apparent that if the campaign is not thus early opened, it cannot be closed with success; because there is faith that victory will be won if the truth is thus spread in a long campaign, the clear light of day thrown upon the iniquities of the moneyed cliques, the transportation and industrial monopolies that now seek to enslave our people by grinding from the industrious the surplus fruits of their toil, depriving them of the right inherent in all men, promised by our Declaration of Independence, the right to equal opportunities and of the right to accumulate wealth and enjoy the fruits of labor. There is this agreement because there is faith that all will be well if the purpose of the Peoples party is expounded and explained, the purpose to secure justice on earth, an equality of opportunity to all men, the abolishment of all special privileges and discriminations, the blessings of liberty and the establishment of our government on the rules of

true Democracy,—because it is believed if the truth is thus spread it will prevail, and the Populist banners, proclaiming liberty, equality, the brotherhood of man be borne to victory in 1900.

We direct attention to the fact that in those states where fusion with the Democratic party has been turned down the Peoples party is flourishing and strong, that where there has been fusion, fusion of the Peoples party with a party subservient to the moneyed oligarchy, but wearing false colors, the Peoples party is well nigh dead. We congratulate the Populists of Texas and Georgia and Alabama on the fair promise of success and triumph over the Democracy this fall. It would be a fitting reward for their steadfastness to principle. When the Populists of the nation have also shown their steadfastness to principle they, too, will reap the reward. What we see the Democratic leaders also see, and, therefore, their alarm, as it has dawned upon them that the Populists of the nation are going to follow the course of the Populists of Texas and Georgia and Alabama, of the far South and Southwest, a course that means the death of the Democratic party, are going to hold their National Convention on September 5th next, and purpose to then inaugurate a vigorous campaign that will never lag until the Democratic party is destroyed, that which is good in it absorbed into the Peoples party, the new party triumph over the old, the pure over the corrupt, the party of the People over the parties of the moneyed cliques that seek to enslave our people and a Government be established upon the lines of true democracy that will ensure to all men equality of opportunity, protect all men in the enjoyment of the fruits of their toil, recognize neither the right of money or monopoly to rule.

We find the Democratic party posing as the friend of the people while serving the moneyed oligarchy, we cannot but see that the triumph of the Democratic party would not bring us reforms, would not bring emancipation to our producing classes from the thralldom of poverty that oppresses them, would not mean the conquest of the moneyed oligarchy. Men who support such a party we cannot recognize as Populists, we cannot accept the leadership of those who work to build up the Democratic and tear down the Peoples party. Though some such men hold official positions in the Peoples party they are not Populists, from obedience to the direction of those men we feel absolved. Senator Butler cannot, nor can any man deliver the Peoples party over to the Democratic. It is not his to deliver. He was indeed chosen chairman of the Peoples Party National Committee in 1896, but he was chosen to build up not to destroy. He was made chairman to protect the interests of the Peoples party and the rights of its chosen candidates, not to sell out those candidates and work for Democratic success. He has chosen to work for the aggrandizement of the Democratic party and belittling of the Peoples. As an individual this was his right, as Chairman of the National Committee of the Peoples party it was not. By such act he lost all rightful claim to the leadership of the Peoples party, and that leadership we cannot, as true Populists, longer accord to him. From recognition of him as Chairman of the National Committee all Populists are rightfully absolved. As believers in democracy, as lovers of our Republic, we cannot follow Mr. Butler into the Democratic party and to the support of the moneyed oligarchy. As Populists we repudiate him and his acts, we hang forth the banners of populism that untainted all good Populists may gather around again, all believers in democracy rally round, banners on which shall be emblazoned the platform of true democracy, "equality of opportunity to all, special privileges for none" and our motto, "we shall carry principles into office with our candidates or we care not to carry in the men."

Therefore, firm in our belief that the vast majority of mankind have honest hearts and pure intentions, that their desire is to do justice to their fellow-men, to live by the rule of right not of might, to profit from the fruits of their own toil, not by despoil-

ing their neighbors, we reaffirm our undying belief that a democratic government must of its very nature be inherently just, that a true democracy must be the best of governments, that where the people rule they will be best ruled. That our people be given the opportunity to so live, be permitted to live by the rules of equity and justice, to live up to the precepts of Christ, to show that the Promised Kingdom of the future where love and justice rule, may be exemplified on earth, we demand. That the cardinal tenet upon which all true democracy must rest and upon which was founded our Republic shall be observed, that there shall be ensured to all men an equality of opportunity, we insist. If that great truth enunciated in our Declaration of Independence is not recognized as the guiding star of our acts, the great Republic which we honor and love, with whose destiny are bound up our hopes, our fears, will pass under the sway of the growing moneyed oligarchy now grasping wealth by despoiling the many, enacting legislation and permitting evils to exist that condemn the producing classes to one long struggle for existence while the surplus fruits of their labor, those fruits that should go to lighten the lot of the many and open the way to a higher civilization are taken to enrich the few.

Where the many are slaves to poverty a republic cannot exist, where the many reap no benefit though they add to the productiveness of their labor, but such increased productiveness is stripped from them for the enrichment of the few, civilization cannot advance, it must retrograde. The people of this country have now to baffle the moneyed oligarchy that, by means of a dishonest monetary system and clique controlled and dishonestly managed transportation systems, is stripping the industrious of the fruits of their toil and so making of them slaves to poverty. This oligarchy must be fought, must be destroyed, or it will destroy the Republic. Oligarchy and Democracy cannot live together. The one or the other must perish. The issue is drawn and there can be no compromise.

Therefore reaffirming our undying belief in a true democracy as the best of governments, proclaiming the self-evident truth that money was made to serve man, not man to serve money, that man is or of right ought to be master, money the servant, not money the master and man the slave; standing on the undeniable proposition that the railroads were granted public franchises that they might serve, not that they might despoil the people; affirming our conviction that these self-evident truths and the denials of them by the two old parties should be set forth, that the American people, honest of heart, just of purpose, loving their country and fellow-men, may have the opportunity to command the recognition of such truths, and pursuant to the command of the rank and file of the Peoples party, from whom we derive all power, whose will to us is law, we hereby call the National Nominating Convention of the Peoples party to meet in Cincinnati, Monday, September 5th, 1898, and call upon the Populists of such states and territories as have not already elected delegates to such convention to select delegates upon the following basis of representation:

For each state and territory and the District of Columbia, two delegates-at-large.

For every 2,000 Populist votes cast at any election since 1890, one delegate additional thereto.

By order of the National Organization Committee of the Peoples party.

MILTON PARK,

Chairman Nat. Organization Com., Peoples Party.

OMAHA, June 17, 1898.

WHATEVER one may use privately he may own privately, but that which men must use together they ought to own together.—
Walter Thomas Mills.

FUTURE OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

THE week ending Saturday last will hold a rich place in the annals of the Peoples party. At Omaha the Peoples party was born; as the result of the action taken at Omaha on Friday last let us hope that it may be revived, drawn out of the engulfing mire of fusion which has bid fair to swallow it and its reforms and be placed on firm ground from which it can go forth to victory, fight successfully for the principles it cherishes and so render inestimable service to the sorely oppressed people of the United States who, though they are blessed with the richest heritage on God's fair earth, a heritage they have made bloom and fructify with astonishing wealth, have been denied the right to enjoy its blessings, until the aggregation of wealth has become more of a curse than a blessing to our people. A curse it has grown to be solely because it has become aggregated in the hands of the few and not been distributed in the hands of the many, its producers and its rightful possessors; it has become so aggregated because we have strayed from the sound and just and immortal principles upon which our Republic was founded, without the recognition of which the independence of our people in thought and action must be undermined, progress become impossible, our power as a people retrograde and the Republic cease to exist; because the right to equality of opportunity, that foundation of liberty and free republics has been denied to our people.

To restore to our people an equality of opportunity in the production of wealth, give them equal rights to the enjoyment of that which they produce was the recognized mission of the Peoples party. At Omaha, in 1892, such was declared to be the purpose of the Peoples party. It was organized because long trial and many disappointments had shown that the old parties could not be trusted to fight oppression and injustice, because it was seen that when injustice could not be attacked without attacking certain moneyed interests built upon the enjoyment of special privileges, that when oppression could not be fought without striking at the great accumulated fortunes built upon oppression, by the despoilment of the many, that the great parties, great in age and playing upon the prejudices of the people ignored the rights of the many and tolerated oppression and injustice.

The greater became the aggregated fortunes built up upon special privileges, that is by taking advantage of, despoiling one's fellow-men, the more ready did the two old parties show themselves to sacrifice the people and serve those of great wealth dishonestly gained and profiting by the enjoyment of special privileges. Thus there arose a moneyed oligarchy; with either of the old parties in power the moneyed interests and not the people ruled. Therefore came the need of a new party. Thus the Peoples party arose to fight the moneyed oligarchy, fight that which both the old parties had served, that which by means of the old parties ruled, and so used the hand of government to despoil the multitude and enrich the few, or keep the hand of government aloof while they despoiled the many without hindrance or fear of being called to account.

Thus with the help of the government was built up a dishonest monetary system that virtually and effectually and morally was a system of robbery; thus with the toleration of the government were built up and corruptly managed our transportation systems, so as to equally despoil the many and honest for the benefit of the few and corrupt and unworthy. So, too, was the fiscal policy of the government so directed as to throw the burdens of national taxation disproportionately, and therefore unjustly, upon the poorer members of society, and of support of such injustice both old parties were equally guilty, both supported a system of taxing the earnings of the poor man more than the earnings of the rich, so that the richer a man the

smaller the percentage of his income taken for the support of the government.

Thus there were evils that cried aloud for remedy, and though the old parties promised remedies they gave none; neither one more than the other when entrusted with power. So the Peoples party came into being. In a few years it grew astonishingly, so grew as to threaten Democratic supremacy in the South and Republican supremacy in the Northwest, threaten indeed the continued supremacy and rule of the moneyed oligarchy. But as it was about to enter upon its realm of usefulness, the Democratic party adopted one of the tenets of the Peoples party, the free coinage of silver as its own and asserted its purpose to make it the cardinal issue of the campaign of 1896, declaring such question to be paramount to all others. At the same time it was vigorously proclaimed that the Democratic party had purged itself of the influence of those under the control of the moneyed oligarchy, that it would no longer serve that oligarchy, that though it put forth free coinage as the paramount of issues, it would be henceforth found fighting upon all questions on the side of the people.

In a word, it was proclaimed that the Democratic party purifying itself, freeing itself from the corrupting influence of the moneyed interests would fight the battles that the Peoples party was organized to fight, that as a consequence the members of that party could best attain their ends by joining the Democracy. And many honest Populists without other thought than their country's good, we might say the great majority of Populists outside of some southern states put trust in such assertions of the purification of the Democratic party and left their new party to join the old. In the South where the Populists could not bring themselves to regard a party that denied to them a free ballot and fair count, that carried elections and held a corrupt and devitalizing sway by election debauchery as capable of becoming purified, as likely to carry out reforms or serve the people there was keen disappointment bordering on despair when the Populists of the North and Northwest went into the Democratic camp in 1896.

Thus many of the Populists of the South held aloof while their brethren in the northwest allied themselves with the Democratic party, and so the Peoples party, that in a few short years had built up a splendid organization, that was strong and growing and the fear of the moneyed oligarchy, was well nigh destroyed, destroyed by the Democratic party abandoning the advocacy of gold, taking up the advocacy of free silver coinage and promising to take up and fight out other great questions on the side of the people. So was that party, the growth of which the moneyed oligarchy feared most, given a serious set-back. In this way the Democratic party, by the position it took in the campaign of 1896, served the moneyed oligarchy.

If the Democratic party had so cast aside its subserviency to the moneyed oligarchy and so advanced in its advocacy of reforms in the interest of the people as to take the place of the Peoples party in the fight for human rights, liberty, equality, the preservation of a true democracy there would be little to regret in this. But the Populists of the South, who had long felt the weight of Democratic debauchery of the ballot box, knew full well that they could expect no such thing from the Democratic party and the Populists of the North and Northwest are rapidly coming to learn the same thing.

Great questions come up and it is seen that the Democratic party does not go forth to meet them but ignores and seeks to stifle, so serving the moneyed oligarchy; when such questions press and cannot longer be ignored and must be met, the Democratic leaders fight not on the side of the people but of the money oligarchy. Thus Populists learn that they trusted in vain the Democratic party, that, after taking up the advocacy of free silver, announced its purification from the taint of the money power.

So learning they turn from the Democratic party. They see the Democratic leaders, instead of going forth to meet one great abuse much concerning the American people, that deprives producers of equal opportunities, that builds up trusts and monopolies and so oppresses consumers, namely the question of railroad discrimination, tenaciously ignoring the existence of such abuse and seeking to stifle all consideration of such crying evil. So they see the Democratic leaders when pressed to vote on war taxes declaring not for just taxation, not for taxation that would rest proportionately on the incomes of all men, but for unjust taxes such as the moneyed oligarchy seeking to escape from their just burdens might be expected to dictate. So, too, do they find Democrats standing for coin redemption money and advocating the desirability of authorizing the issue of state bank notes, though all who can look into the future or even draw lessons from the experience of the past for guidance must see that the issue of such notes would give us an irredeemable bank currency such as the moneyed oligarchy much desires.

So Populists have drawn away from the Democratic party since 1896, seeing that it offers them nothing, that it serves the moneyed power rather than the people. Yet Chairman Butler of the National Committee of the Peoples party has done everything possible to induce Populists to cling to a party which serves the moneyed oligarchy, a party whose success would mean not the recognition but the turning down, the defeat of that for which Populists profess to fight. Therefore it is only natural that Chairman Butler has gained the enmity, the distrust, of his party. His continued direction of the Peoples party was felt to make the revivification of the party from the fusion torpor of 1896 quite impossible, his leadership promised the early and complete wiping out of the Peoples party through absorption into the Democratic party, promised the success of a party subservient to the moneyed oligarchy and the setting back, not advancement, of the purposes of the Peoples party.

So it was felt that his leadership stood in the way of the further growth of the Peoples party and of the advancement of the principles of Populism. Consequently his removal was demanded and demanded strenuously at Omaha, a week ago, not because of his personality, not because of personal dislike or animus, but because he stood for a policy that was felt would destroy, not build up the Peoples party, not promote the purposes, the aims of the Peoples party, but make the attainment of those ends impossible. Thus, between Senator Butler and his following, and those who believe that the Peoples party can attain its ends only by preserving its independence, there has grown up a bitter struggle. Naturally this was precipitated at Omaha a week ago when the National Committee of the Peoples party met, a committee of which about two-thirds of the members are friendly to Senator Butler and his policy, but in which the one-third opposed to him represent states in which there is no voice raised in favor of fusion and which give two-thirds of the Populist vote.

Further, it should be remarked that in those states represented by fusion committeemen there is vigorous opposition to the policy of co-operation with the Democratic party and a determination not to join in such schemes of co-operation with a party of the moneyed oligarchy but to preserve the independence of the Peoples party, maintain a Peoples party independent organization and fight, if need be in the courts, for recognition of such organization as the one entitled to recognition as the regular Peoples party organization. And as those who vote Democratic tickets become Democrats to all intents and purposes when they do so it can hardly be doubted that the courts will almost universally follow the example of those of Michigan and Iowa and hold that those who assert the independence of the Peoples party, and not those who act with another party, are entitled to work under and use the name of the Peoples party.

The fact that those members of the National Committee standing for Senator Butler and fusion represented states casting

a minority vote yet outnumbered the representatives from the states casting a majority of the vote added greatly to the bitterness in the committee. It was to be expected that the bitterness would crop out at the meeting of the National Committee in Omaha a week ago. It did crop out, and as a result of that meeting the National Committee was split wide open, the majority of the committee representing a minority of the party adjourning without taking any action save the passing of a few empty resolves, while the minority, representing the majority of the party, joined with the National Organization Committee of the Peoples party in calling a national nominating convention of the Peoples party to meet in Cincinnati, Monday, September 5, 1898.

At Omaha, we have said, the Peoples party was born. At Omaha a week ago the Peoples party was confronted with a crisis in its existence. There was danger that the Peoples party would be buried there; there was hope that it would be there revived. We believe the hope has been fulfilled, that action was taken there by the National Organization Committee of the Peoples party that will lead to the revivification, the building up, the triumph of the Peoples party.

And here let it be said that the only action taken at Omaha was that taken by the Organization Committee in calling the national convention to meet September 5th next. The National Committee took no action, it met and did nothing, nothing save to show that it was ready, as in the past, to abandon the interests of the Peoples party and direct its energies to the building up of the Democracy. The National Organization Committee did take action by refusing to longer recognize the authority of such committee and by calling upon all true Populists to join hands to preserve the independence of the Peoples party. Such call will be enthusiastically and generally responded to to a certainty and the Peoples party be soon put on a fair road to the gathering of strength, then success and the fulfilment of its mission—namely, the overthrow of the rule of the moneyed oligarchy, an oligarchy that now rules and seeks to perpetuate its rule through the Republican and Democratic parties, both subservient to its influence.

So the future of the Peoples party is brightened not darkened by the results of the Omaha conferences of a week ago. The National Committee was indeed split wide open, but not so with the Peoples party. By the action there taken not by the National Committee, but by the Organization Committee, after the National Committee had shown its desertion of Populism and the Peoples party to serve the Democratic, we firmly believe Populists will be drawn together not driven apart, that faith and encouragement will be instilled into the rank and file, that strength will be gathered, victory ultimately attained and our people released from the rule of the moneyed oligarchy that threatens the American Republic.

Until the independence of the Peoples party is proclaimed, until the principles of Populism are fought for under the banners of the Peoples party, and not under the banners of Democracy, tainted with the influence of the moneyed oligarchy, Populists cannot be drawn together, they will be driven apart, for union, enthusiasm, growth is impossible when Populists are made to feel, as many now feel, as many must feel with fusion with the Democracy confronting them, that they are working to build up and strengthen a party friendly to the moneyed oligarchy, working to perpetuate the rule of such oligarchy.

Preserving a dependence to the Democratic party, whose success would not end the rule of the moneyed oligarchy, but prolong it, the Peoples party can serve no good end; it will not deserve to succeed, and it will not. Let it declare its independence, let it show that its success would mean the overthrow of the moneyed oligarchy and, deserving the support of the people, showing itself worthy of such support, it will receive such support and succeed. Therefore there is ground for great hope in

the action taken at Omaha. The resolution of many earnest Populists to assert the independence of the Peoples party did indeed cause a split in the National Committee, but they did that which alone can unite all true Populists, that which alone can bring strength and growth to the Peoples party and make it capable of offering successful resistance to the encroachments of the moneyed oligarchy on the rights and liberties of our people.

It is regrettable that the necessity for a split in the National Committee of the Peoples party should have arisen; it is regrettable that Chairman Butler has seen fit to virtually desert his party; but, having deserted it, it is better that the desertion should be proclaimed than that his leadership should be longer followed. It is regrettable that he should have followed a course, urged a policy that has weakened the Peoples party, makes its growth impossible and destroys its influence; but, having done so, it is better, better for the Peoples party, that he should be repudiated and the policy he has stood for condemned. And this is what the Populists, resolved on maintaining the independence of the Peoples party, did at Omaha a week ago. They split the National Committee, but they laid the seeds for saving the Peoples party. They demanded that the independence of the Peoples party be proclaimed, and they did proclaim it; they demanded that the policy of strengthening the Democratic party and through such action the serving of the moneyed oligarchy be condemned, and they did condemn it.

As a result there was hot dissension, angry disputation, many threats passed between the members of the National Committee and finally a split. But out of that split the Peoples party will come stronger if not unscathed. It is a pity that a split should have come, but it was a question of no split and the burial of the Peoples party under the weight of fusion, or split and life. So let us not regret the split.

The Omaha conferences, though resulting in a split of the National Committee, will not prove barren of results beneficial to the Peoples party. Chairman Butler may desert, his committee may desert, but the Peoples party lives. This is the assurance given us at Omaha, this assurance is the fruitful result of the action taken at those conferences. They were not vain, the future of the Peoples party was brightened, its life saved.

THE OMAHA CONFERENCES AND RESULTS.

IT SEEMS hardly necessary to remark that the Omaha Populist conferences of a week ago were loaded down with questions of grave import. There was pressed upon those conferences the question of whether the Peoples party should live as an independent party or be swallowed up by the Democratic; the question of whether the Peoples party should live or die; of whether the leadership of the party should be continued in the hands of one who worked for the success of the Democratic party rather than his own, or be taken from him and placed in the hands of one believing that the Peoples party could serve the people as an independent party, but could not fulfil its mission while held in dependence to a party serving the moneyed oligarchy in many ways, if not abjectly subservient to it.

Such were the major questions that pressed for solution, that were pressed by the Reform Press Association that met first, that were treated in a most indefinite way by the majority of the National Committee and by Senator Butler, who announced, and on whose behalf it was announced, that he should keep the leadership of the Peoples party whether the party was to live or to die; that he should later support the policy of independence or dependence as seemed to him to be expedient, which sounded very suspiciously like a declaration of a purpose to hold in hand the Peoples party so that he might shape the policy of the party, deliver its votes and throw its power so as to secure for self and friends the greatest self-advancement.

It was left for the National Organization Committee to solve these questions in a determinate way or point out the way for their early solution. Repudiating the leadership of Senator Butler, denouncing fusion and declaring that the independence of the Peoples party must be preserved, the National Organization Committee adopted an address to the Populists of the United States, setting forth the reasons for the action they felt impelled to take and calling the National Nominating Convention of the Peoples party to meet in Cincinnati, Ohio, September 5, 1898. Thus did the National Organization Committee take action to save and build up the Peoples party, while the National Committee hesitated, equivocated, held back, did nothing but to retard and block those whose one aim was the building up, the strengthening of the Peoples party that it might be made strong enough and powerful enough to resist the aggressions of the moneyed oligarchy upon the rights and liberties of our people.

To the National Committee the Populists of the country owe nothing but discouragement; to the National Organization Committee they owe that bold and determinate course of action, which, followed, bids fair to lead to the revivification of the Peoples party. The address of the Organization Committee to the Populists of the United States and the call for a national nominating convention we publish elsewhere. We bespeak for it a considerate reading by all Populists.

So much said by way of introduction it is in order to follow, as succinctly as we may the steps taken in the Omaha conferences by the Reform Press Association, by the National Committee and the Organization Committee and leading up to the important and epoch-marking action of the latter committee which took action to revivify the Peoples party only when it was found that the National Committee would not. So let us proceed, only prefacing what we have to say with the remark that the meetings of the Reform Press Association and the Organization Committee were somewhat sandwiched together as were the meetings of the National Organization Committee and National Committee of the Peoples party.

Meeting of the National Reform Press Association.

And first a few words as to the annual gathering of editors of the Peoples party press associated in the above association and by way of introduction to Captain Burkitt's admirable address delivered as President of the association, an address which we print in full. On Monday morning, June 13th, the Reform Press Association was called to order by Captain Burkitt, in Creighton Hall, an hour or more behind the schedule time and welcomed to the city of Omaha in a genial and most proper speech of welcome by the Republican Mayor of that city. We only make mention of the Mayor's address in this manner, because it is more than can be said of the address, supposedly of welcome, delivered two days later before the National Committee by Governor Holcomb.

The mayor's address of welcome was responded to with feeling, not to say eloquence, by General Phillips, of Georgia. Of the hundred or more editors of the Reform Press Association who assembled in Omaha, certainly all but a few, perhaps all, were very decidedly opposed to fusion, earnest in their efforts to build up the Peoples party and as earnest in their condemnation of Senator Butler for his efforts to bring about co-operation between the Democratic and Peoples parties, which co-operation, or fusion or by whatever name known had, in their opinion, resulted in but tearing down the Peoples party and building up the Democratic, was in fine a very one-sided kind of co-operation.

The feeling of the members of the association was early made publicly evident when Mr. Richardson, Press Commissioner of the Omaha Exhibition, in offering the members of the association a cordial invitation to visit the Exhibition as the guests of the management, incidentally mentioned the name of William Jennings Bryan. Instead of being received with the usual Omaha applause that greets the mention of his name and

which the speaker evidently anticipated, his name was received with a significant silence. And here it might just as well be stated that the Populists of the South hold Mr. Bryan in just about as high esteem as the fusionists of Nebraska hold Mr. McKinley, which is no esteem at all.

After a vote of thanks was duly returned to the Exhibition managers for their courtesy, Capt. Burkitt, as president of the association, read the annual address, which struck a chord of sympathetic feeling among his hearers and was ordered printed by the association with the special request that reform papers should publish it. Not because of such request, but the general excellence and importance of the document we make space for it below.

Address of Capt. Burkitt.

President of the National Reform Press Association.

To the officers and members of the National Reform Press Association:

I congratulate you on this your ninth annual assembling and I congratulate the industrial masses of this country on the fact that you have held your organization intact, as a bulwark of protection for them against the encroachments of plutocracy. Your patriotic devotion to duty gives assurance that so long as the Reform Press exists there will be brave and true men and women in this country willing to sacrifice time, talent and means to restore and maintain a governmental system founded by a Jefferson, nurtured by a Washington, defended by a Jackson and upheld by a Lincoln, whose motto was and is: "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none," and whose object was and is to secure to every citizen of this great Republic the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and the privilege of enjoying the fruits of his own labor, without being compelled through the operation of iniquitous laws to share them with the idle holders of idle capital.

While most of the great dailies, owned and controlled by capitalists seemed to lose sight of the public interest, to ignore the wants, wishes and aspirations of the laboring masses, and in serving their owners, heap greater burdens upon the tax-payers, the thoughtful, patriotic weekly editor realized that the encroachment of the money devil upon the rights and interests of the common people, would, if not arrested, sap the very foundation of civil liberty, and hence you were the first to organize for the impending conflict between the wealth producers of the country and that grasping, greedy, avaricious monster.

You were first to discover that the small but powerful monopolistic classes of the East, with head-quarters in Wall street were dominating the government and dictating its policy, and that the great mining and grain growing sections of the West and North-west and the cotton growing region of the South were the victims of unequal and unjust laws, secured by unfair and corrupt means, through the incapacity or dishonesty of a majority of Congress, no matter which of the old parties happened to be in the ascendancy, and to repeal these laws and restore to the people the government of the Fathers has been your constant aim to this good hour.

You knew that the North and West were Republican in politics and the South Democratic, and you fully understood that this difference was the legitimate fruit of a fratricidal strife that cost the country billions of treasure and thousands of lives, and for which the political extremists of all sections were alone responsible. You knew these men had arrayed brother against brother and father against son; that they had thrust this happy and prosperous nation into a bloody contest for political supremacy, which gave Shylock the opportunity to rob the whole people, and he seized it with avidity. It was your self-imposed mission to re-unite these people, so long estranged, that they might successfully combat the legions of the Money Power. You comprehended the magnitude of the task you assumed when you essayed to reconcile the conflicting elements North and South and attempted to allay the passions and prejudices engendered by an unhallowed civil war, kept alive by old party politicians for selfish and partisan purposes, but you faltered not. You realized at the outset that no genuine reconciliation could be secured between these sections so long as they were arrayed in hostile political camps. An alliance under such conditions was totally impracticable, for neither was willing to surrender to the other, and thus it was the idea of a new political organization embodying the Democracy of Jefferson and the Republicanism of Lincoln

took shape in the minds of all unprejudiced students of the political history of our country, many of whom, after investigation, were surprised and gratified at the almost complete identity of doctrine entertained and taught by these great statesmen.

With the assurance that the cry of "Rebel Brigadier" would no longer influence the men of this section of the Union to follow a perverted Republican standard and that the bugbear of "negro domination" could no longer frighten Southern white men into a continued support of Bourbon Democracy, the reform press urged and finally secured the Cincinnati conference, where true men from every section of the country, divesting themselves of partisan feeling, met and laid the foundation of a new political organization, which in July of the same year, in this wonderful city of the great Northwest crystalized into the Peoples party.

From Omaha a platform of principles was promulgated, worthy to be called "the second Declaration of Independence," and this immortal document, with the initiative and referendum added is to-day the rule and guide of every true Populist's faith.

The banner of reform was flung to the breeze, a ticket was announced, a spirited campaign was made, and in the election that followed more than a million free American citizens, loving God, their country and fellow-men more than party, registered their protest against the innumerable crimes of omission and commission of which both old parties had been guilty.

As a Southern man by birth and lineage, as a Confederate soldier, who loved his section well enough to shed his blood in its behalf, without inquiring into the causes that brought about the unholy strife, I rejoice that in this glorious work of reconciliation between the sections, with the ultimate object of rescuing the government from the hands of the vampires who had seized upon it and restoring it to the people to whom it belonged, the "Sunny South" cast nearly one-half of all the Reform ballots counted in that election.

As they stood in 1892, so stands your genuine Southern reformer of to-day. There is no conceivable political condition that can induce or compel him to affiliate, fuse or co-operate with the corrupt and intolerant old Democracy, no matter how many professions of regeneracy its treacherous leaders may make and an effort on the part of our misguided friends of the Northwest to accomplish such results only weakens them and destroys us. I submit to my candid brother in Nebraska, who thinks Wm. J. Bryan and his associates, may be trusted to carry out Populist principles, that such an idea is chimerical. Can the leopard change his spots or the Ethiopian his skin? Can a party whose head desired to issue \$500,000,000 interest bearing bonds for the purpose of withdrawing the greenbacks and Treasury notes from circulation and enlarging the powers and privileges of the National banks, as did Chairman Jones, of Arkansas, be trusted to institute such monetary reforms as we demand? Can a party that honors a Cleveland, a Brice and a Hill be relied upon to suppress monopolies? Can a party which furnishes a Gorman, a Murphy, a Caffery, a Gray and others, to vote \$300,000,000 of bonds on us to-day, under the pretense of raising money to fight Spain be trusted in any emergency? Is it not a fact that there are always enough Democratic dissenters from the party's professed policy to enable the opposition to have their way? Has it not been so in every contest on the silver question? Is it not a fact that the legislatures of a number of states, supporting Mr. Bryan on a platform declaring against the making of gold contracts, have since the election, by an overwhelming vote repudiated the principle? In short, can any apologist of the party name a single vital principle avowed by the National Democracy for the past twenty years, which has been consistently adhered to, or a single pledge they have made the people, which they have honestly fulfilled?

Swift to thrust the country into a war with a foreign power, with no special thought as to its far-reaching effects, but with the hope that some political advantage might accrue to them, the Democratic leaders were too obtuse to comprehend that the movement only furnished an excuse to their Republican coadjutors to further burden the industries of this country, or they were indifferent to the results. And when the crucial test came to decide whether the present should be a bond-holders' war or one for humanity, seven Democratic Senators abandon the professed principles of the purified (?) Democracy and ally themselves with the party of boodle and bonds.

And this is the political organization which Populists are invited to co-operate with now and in future, and strange to say, men whom the party has honored above their fellows are using the power of their official position to compel such a humiliating concession.

Thanks to the stalwart Reform Press the infamy has not yet

been consummated. But only your vigilance and the fealty to principle on the part of "the boys in the trenches" has prevented, and pity it is, the warning voice which issued from Omaha in 1892 against official intermeddling was not sooner heeded.

Experience having taught us that official dictation in party affairs invariably led to the perversion of principle and culminated in an intolerable bossism, the patriots assembled here in 1892 solemnly declared: "No person holding any office or position of profit, trust or emolument under the federal, state or municipal government, including Senators, Congressmen and members of legislature, state and local, shall be eligible to sit or vote in any convention of this party; and a copy of this ordinance shall be annexed to every call for any future convention of the party."—*Proceedings Omaha Convention, July 4, 1892.*

Had this wise provision been adhered to, and the rank and file been left free to battle with both old parties for the reforms necessary to make this a government of, for and by the people, the demoralization against which you have contended ever since you sent a committee from Kansas City to Washington in 1895 to ascertain the true inwardness of a manifesto signed and sent abroad by members of Congress and National Committeemen looking to a trimming of the Omaha platform, the surrender of vital principles of the party and the paving of the way for a disgraceful fusion with Democracy would have been avoided. Had not this safeguard of party integrity been cast aside by an ambitious cabal at the Capitol, who came to the conclusion that their retention of office was paramount to the welfare of the party and people that made them, no such manifesto would have ever been issued, no such outrageous apportionment of delegates as that of 1896 would have ever been made; no such conglomeration of political hucksters and traitors would have ever assembled as came together at St. Louis; no such misnamed Populist convention as that over which two United States Senators presided in 1896 would have ever been held; no such nomination as that of William J. Bryan would have ever been thought of, and no man who would dare to talk of fusion, or co-operation with either of the old organizations could have attained the chairmanship of our National Committee, where he might make merchandise of the votes of honest reformers.

Unfortunately a departure from the landmark quoted above was made over the protest of the Reform Press and the evils incident to wrong doing necessarily followed.

It is no wonder, after such a campaign as that of '96, in which our only representative on the ticket was publicly ignored by the Democracy, and openly betrayed or cowardly left to his fate by the constituted authorities of his own party, that honest Populists should have been disgusted and discouraged, and I maintain, but for the action of the Reform Press at Memphis in February, 1897, in taking preliminary steps to counteract the mischief done and to rally the drooping spirits of the despairing voters, the People's party would have long since experienced the fate of the Greenback, Union Labor and all other reform parties that have preceded it. Through your indefatigable efforts, in the face of the bitterest opposition, a national conference was held at Nashville, Tenn., July 5th, of last year. The brave and patriotic deliberations of that body served to reanimate the hearts and revive the hopes of Populists from principle, everywhere, in the same proportion that it startled and alarmed the official spoilers, who fain would have used them as political Hessians to further their selfish schemes and personal ends. Your National Organization Committee, which has done so much to restore our party to its once grand estate was the offspring of the Nashville Conference and the world knows you have done your part nobly in defending the acts and sustaining the decisions of that committee. Had you faltered at any critical stage of the proceedings, which I have feebly outlined, then Populism had died and should you falter now you abandon a cause made glorious by your heroic labors and unprecedented sacrifices and leave trimmers and time servers to surrender the hopes of a nation of seventy millions of people to as conscienceless a gang of free booters as ever compelled helpless captives to walk the plank.

To my mind the coming week is fraught with more concern to the people of this country than any of its predecessors. It is to decide whether or not a political organization having for its cardinal principle equal opportunities to each and every one of the people of this vast country while each and every one shall only be required to bear equally the burdens of government, is to survive, or to be fused or co-operated into an adjunct of Democracy in the North and Republicanism in the South, for it must be known to every thoughtful member of this body that the most unyielding and uncompromising adversary of the people's cause

is the dominant political organization regardless of name. Democrats in the North-west, where not more than 15 per cent. of the voting population align themselves with that party, are very amiable individuals indeed and are ready for any sort of a deal with anybody that offers one or more of the leaders a chance for an office, but give them opportunity as they have in the South to control the ballot-boxes and I opine they would be here as there absolutely indifferent to the wishes of the majority of the people and invariably opposed to fusion. Even in North Carolina, the head-centre of Southern fusionists, where we find gentlemen claiming to speak and act for the Peoples party, of such a versatile political character that they can fuse in one campaign with the Republicans, in the next with the Democrats, and in the next with either or both, the Democracy, I am gratified to say, has in a recent state convention repudiated with scorn and contempt the "honorable co-operation" (which means of course a division of the spoils) proposed by the Hon. Marion Butler. In Nebraska they are great on co-operation, especially when their part of the business is to furnish you Billy Bryan as a candidate, and yours to furnish the voters at the polls.

Inoculated with the fusion virus, it is not strange that gentlemen holding good, fat places in Congress should conclude that "co-operation" was the very thing, and I am not surprised that fusion Populists, purified (?) Democrats and silver Republicans, who hold seats by virtue of unholy alliances should privately agree each to help the other "hold the fort," but I was astonished at the audacity with which the scheme unfolded by the tripartite address was publicly proclaimed. The great plain people I know are not fools and I trust they are not yet such slaves as to be made to carry out this unblushing deal.

During all the vicissitudes the party has been called to pass; in the face of the most powerful opposition, hampered as it has been by leaders of misguided judgment, or environed by the rankest treason, the Reform Press, ever true to the principles avowed at Omaha, and ever faithful to the cause of the people has boldly declared there was no honorable compromise to be made with either Democracy or Republicanism as now constituted and that there was no place for a true Populist save "in the middle of the road." To this sentiment I give most cordial assent, and so long as I live and there shall be such a Reform Press in America, I shall be proud to claim an humble membership. And now, when about to lay down the gavel of authority, with which your partiality invested me more than a year ago, I desire to return to the officers and members of the Association individually and collectively my sincere thanks for the uniform kindness and courtesy extended to me upon all occasions and especially for the valuable assistance rendered me in the discharge of the duties devolving upon your President.

Mistakes I have doubtless made, but these your generosity will forgive, for you have accorded to me a sincerity of conviction and an honesty of purpose, which I prize more highly than all things else, and which I would not exchange for any position within the gift of my fellow-men. Having discharged the duties you assigned me at our last annual meeting to the best of my ability, with your kind permission I shall, when my successor is named, take my place in the ranks to do what I may to assist you in the arduous struggle you have so valiantly maintained for the past three years, despite the desecrating hand of open enemies, or the insidious advice of deceitful friends, that "the Peoples party may live and shall not die," so long as plutocratic greed shall oppress our fatherland and until a grateful and disenthralled people shall shout the praises of the glorious organization that redeemed them from the deadly peril of financial, land and transportation monopoly and until they have secured for themselves, their children and their children's children to the end of time, through the Initiative and Referendum, a model Republic, the purest, freest, and most glorious the world has ever known.

FRANK BURKITT,
President.

At the conclusion of Capt. Burkitt's address a recess for dinner was taken. Upon reassembling the Chair appointed several committees, one of which, that on resolutions, never reported, the members being much taken up during the following days by the more absorbing and imperative work brought to the fore by the meetings of the National Committee and the Organization Committee of the Peoples party. Indeed, the meetings of those two committees so absorbed attention during the following days that the Reform Press Association was hurried to its final adjournment with little regard to programme. On Monday afternoon

there was, however, a good representation that listened to sundry addresses on "How to secure circulation for a Populist newspaper," which was generally answered, "Kill fusion," and it was fusion and the absorption of the Peoples party into the Democratic that was universally held accountable for the drying up of some Populist papers and the falling off of the circulation of others. Tuesday the attendance dwindled down to a fair representation, and the old officers, with Capt. Burkitt as President and Jo. A. Parker, of Kentucky, as Secretary and Treasurer, were re-elected. The afternoon was filled out with various addresses on subjects supposedly peculiarly interesting to editors but most of which would have been entertaining to anyone with an idle hour. When the Association adjourned it had yet some business remaining to finish up, which, we opine, will remain to finish up, for interest was so attracted on the following days to the National Committees, of which most of the members of the Reform Press Association were either members or entitled to sit with by virtue of holding proxies, that the National Reform Press Association was only perfunctorily called together again to adjourn.

Proceedings of the Organization Committee.

The National Organization Committee of the Peoples party, Milton Park in the chair, convened in Creighton Hall, Tuesday morning, June 14th, at 10 o'clock. Twenty-six states were represented, with some forty-six members present. In the hall was also Robert Schilling, of Milwaukee, a national committeeman from Wisconsin, and at this time a determined fusionist. His presence called out a motion that all persons not in harmony with the purposes of the National Organization Committee, to wit, the building up of the Peoples party as an independent organization, should withdraw. Mr. Schilling hotly asserted his right to remain, and denied the right of the Organization Committee to expel him because of his fusion proclivities. Many appeals followed for a withdrawal of the motion, notably by ex-Congressman "Calamity" Weller, of Iowa, who pointedly asserted that the gentleman's sense of honor, his self-respect would prompt him to leave the committee-room when he made up his mind that he could not act with the committee. As he already had so made up his mind not to act with but oppose the purposes of the committee the invitation to withdraw was pointed. But Mr. Schilling did not resent the rakings of the several committeemen who held up his conduct, if his purpose was to block the work of the committee, act the spy and traitor, as dishonorable and reprehensible in the extreme, and the motion to exclude those out of harmony with the committee and pointed at him being finally withdrawn he remained. He also graced the meeting of the Organization Committee of the Peoples party held late in the evening of the same day with his presence.

The discussion caused by Mr. Schilling intruding himself on the committee being ended after the waste of a good part of the morning, by the withdrawal of the motion requesting his withdrawal, the committee proceeded to business by adopting a motion directing the Chair to appoint a committee of seven to draw up a plan of procedure looking to the preservation of the independence of the Peoples party. On this committee Chairman Park appointed Wharton Barker, of Philadelphia, Chairman; General Phillips, of Georgia; Capt. Burkitt, of Mississippi; W. S. Morgan, of Arkansas; Paul J. Dixon, of Missouri; J. O. Beebe, of Iowa; and S. C. Granberry, of Texas, five of whom were recognized members of the National Committee as well as of the Organization Committee and two duly chosen members whose seats were contested. The Organization Committee then took a recess to 8 P. M., to await the report of the sub-committee on procedure. In the afternoon of this day the Reform Press Association was in session in Creighton Hall, many member of the National Organization Committee who were also members of the Press Association, attending.

Some time after 8 o'clock the Organization Committee was called together, but the Committee on Procedure and Resolutions announced that it was not ready to report. The Butler and fusion forces had opened headquarters and were throwing out numerous feelers and making innumerable and indirect suggestions ostensibly with the purpose of seeing if some plan could not be agreed upon which would unite both factions of the Peoples party, put an end to the dissension, the discord, the crimination and re-crimination within the party. In the light of later events it is apparent that the fusion people were quite insincere in their suggestions, that they put them out simply to gain time. But the sub-committee of the Organization Committee being most desirous of uniting the party, indeed the only purpose of the creation of the Organization Committee having been to unite and revivify the party, and not wishing to let any chance of uniting the party slip by, deemed it best to take heed of the informal suggestions of the Butler people, consequently delayed reporting back to the Organization Committee and drew up formal but tentative suggestions for healing the discord which were duly layed before Senators Butler and Allen and others representing the fusion wing of the National Committee on Tuesday night. The sub-committee having formulated such suggestions and sent them to the Butler headquarters reported to the Organization Committee of the Peoples party. By that committee the suggestions made to the fusionists as a basis for harmony were simply received, but not approved. They comprised the following principal demands: (1.) The resignation of all executive officers of the National Committee and the election of men to fill their places by the National and Organization Committees acting jointly; (2) an agreement of the National Committee to call an early national convention; (3) an agreement by the National Committee to entertain no propositions for fusion with any party; (4) an agreement to let the Populists in the several states manage their affairs as they see fit, free to accept fusion or reject fusion, and a pledge that the National Committee would take no part in state or local campaigns unless requested by the Populist organizations of the respective states to do so and a further pledge to in no instance take part against the Populist organization of any state running an independent Populist ticket and in favor of a fusion ticket. Shortly after midnight the Organization Committee adjourned.

The next morning a committee of mid-rovers, Capt. Burkitt, W. S. Morgan, and General Tracy waited upon the Butler people to see what could be done in the way of uniting the two factions, but were rather brusquely received, not by a committee of fusionists as anticipated, but by Senator Allen with the result that the chasm was not bridged but made broader.

Meeting and Non-Action of the National Committee.

The National Committee was called to meet in the Mercer Hotel at 10 o'clock A. M., Wednesday, June 15th. Accommodation was found, however, to be insufficient in the room set apart in the Mercer Hotel for the holding of the meeting and by mutual consent adjournment was taken to Creighton Hall, which had been provided by the people of Omaha for the use of the Reform Press Association and the National Organization Committee. After considerable delay the National Committee was called to order by Chairman Butler, some 250 persons, about half committeemen or holding proxies of committeemen, being present in the hall.

Governor Holcomb, of Nebraska, was at once presented to make the address of welcome. He made an address quite welcome to the fusionists, no doubt, but not welcomed by the straight Populists at all. Instead of confining himself to an address of welcome, he proceeded to instruct the committee on the advantages of fusion, how, through fusion, Nebraska Populists had captured a good part of the state offices. He went on to

say that he hoped to see Mr. Bryan nominated by the Peoples party in 1900, whereat the fusionists, who had concentrated on the right of the house, went into ecstasies of applause, the straight Populists on the left remained grimly silent. Governor Holcomb also dilated on how the decision of the majority of the committee should be accepted by the minority of the committee, that refusal on any other ground than that of conscience would be inexcusable. All of which was directed at the straight Populists, and by them taken in with the mental note that they conscientiously believed that the success of the Democratic party would not mean the conquest of the moneyed oligarchy, that they firmly believed that to support that party by fusion or otherwise would aid and assist the moneyed oligarchy, and that therefore if the National Committee should declare for fusion, they would be morally justified in refusing to recognize the authority of that committee. The response to the address of welcome was made by Congressman Gunn, of Idaho, in harmonious spirit.

Chairman Butler, then explaining that there were contests in several states as to who had a right to represent such states on the National Committee and that he did not care to take the responsibility of deciding the contests, proceeded to appoint a Committee on Credentials, namely: Senator Allen, of Nebraska; Ex-Governor Buchanan, of Tennessee; Eltwed Pomeroy, of New Jersey; Congressman C. A. Barlow, of California; A. H. Cardin, of Kentucky, all fusionists, save the last named. Though appointing such committee, there was one case of contest that Mr. Butler, as Chairman of the National Committee, decided to decide for himself. Wharton Barker, of Pennsylvania, the lately chosen National Committeeman from Pennsylvania in place of Mr. Deisher, fusionist, he refused to recognize, keeping the name of Mr. Deisher down on the rolls as the regular National Committeeman, and even neglecting to enter Pennsylvania among the list of states with contesting delegations, as he did in other cases. The proxy of Mr. Deisher was held by the Butler people.

The Credentials Committee appointed, the National Committee took a recess to 3 o'clock to await the report. Three o'clock came, but no report; it would be ready at 4. Four o'clock came, but no report, and Chairman Butler advised a recess to 8 o'clock, which was taken after some discussion. Eight o'clock came, and still no report, but would be ready at 9. The committee, deciding to remain in session, had a love feast for an hour. During this hour Rev. C. E. Bentley, of Lincoln, Nebraska, late Presidential candidate of the Liberty party, that is, the progressive wing of the Prohibitionists, was brought in. He read a statement showing that the Liberty party was in hearty accord with all the principles of Populism and had made a fusion arrangement with the Populists and Silver Republicans of Ohio under the name of the Union Reform party. He neglected to say that these three parties in making this fusion arrangement in Ohio vigorously condemned the Democratic party. If he had so stated it is just possible that the fusionists of Nebraska present in the hall in great number, both by proxy and as lookers on, would have received his statement with less rapturous applause.

Nine o'clock came before the Credentials Committee was ready to report and a recess was taken for twenty minutes when the report was promised. The recess dragged out for an hour and forty minutes before Chairman Butler called the committee to order, and then only to announce that the lights would be put out shortly after midnight, that the Credentials Committee was not ready to report and advised adjournment to nine o'clock on Thursday morning, June 16th. It seemed a little peculiar that the Committee on Credentials could not form a better judgment of the work before it than to report at three o'clock that it would be ready to report at four or within an hour and not be ready to report eight hours later. The report gained credence in the hall that the Credentials Committee was playing for time, purposely delaying its report to enable the Butler people to receive the proxies of several committeemen that it was persistently

reported had been telegraphed for. So at the suggestion to adjourn there was vehement protest, but Senator Butler, in true Czar Reed style, put the motion, declared it seconded, carried and the meeting adjourned ignoring the vigorous calls for a division, putting on his hat and walking from the room.

At once Captain Burkitt, of Mississippi, took the platform and called a meeting of the Organization Committee, while the straight Populists hooted the fusionists as they left the hall. Chairman Park taking the chair, vigorous condemnatory speeches of the summary action of Senator Butler were made, but it was resolved to postpone the taking of any positive action. So, shortly past midnight and after ringing addresses by several committeemen, notably by Captain Burkitt, of Mississippi, and W. S. Morgan, of Arkansas, to the effect that there was but one way to reunite the Peoples party and that was to turn down fusion and proclaim political independence of the Democratic or any other party, and that if the National Committee declared for fusion they would repudiate it and take the issue to the rank and file of the Peoples party, the Organization Committee adjourned.

On Thursday morning, June 16th, Chairman Butler was nearly an hour late in calling the National Committee to order. The Committee on Credentials, which had been required to pass on the validity of proxies as well as contests, was reported as ready to report. The report was at once presented and showed, exclusive of members whose places were contested, 106 members of the National Committee present in person or by proxy. Those present by proxy were 79, but in only rare instances was more than one of such proxies held by any one person. When the report was adopted and the cases of the members from various states where there were contests were passed upon, the list was swollen by 16 or 17. The Credentials Committee recommended the seating of the newly chosen and anti-fusion members from Arkansas and Illinois and the seating of the old members from Florida, Iowa, Pennsylvania and Ohio, the validity of the state conventions of the last named states and that have lately chosen one or more new anti-fusion members of the National Committee being denied. The report was unanimous. In the case of Arkansas there was no presentable ground for opposing the seating of the new members, and they were seated; in Illinois the report was that the new members were first denied recognition, but that Cardin, of Kentucky, who had held out for the seating of both the Illinois and Iowa anti-fusionists, refused to unite in a unanimous report unless the Credentials Committee compromised the question by turning down the straight Populists in Iowa, who, by the way, are recognized as regular by the courts, and seating the straight Populists from Illinois.

The Committee on Credentials also suggested several changes in the rules governing the National Committee which were quite unobjectionable, indeed most advisable, and one of which was that no man should be permitted to use and hold a proxy of a National Committeeman outside of his own state. If this rule had been made applicable to the meeting of the committee then in session, about 15 Nebraskans, mostly fusion office-holders and holding Butler proxies would have been denied the right to take part in the meeting.

The Credentials Committee had refused to recognize two proxies presented by General Paul Vandervoort of Omaha, on the ground that Vandervoort had accepted money from the Republicans and that the Nebraska fusionists had declared that he was not a Populist. The charges against General Vandervoort were unsubstantiated, indeed they had been quashed at the meeting of the Reform Press Association, held in Memphis the year before, those who had made such charges of venality failing to appear before a duly appointed investigating committee to substantiate their charges. Upon the conclusion of the reading of the report, Capt. Burkitt, of Mississippi, presented a proxy of Congressman Howard, of Alabama, made out in the name of General Vandervoort and moved the acceptance of such proxy and the seating of

General Vandervoort thereon as an amendment to the report. In an eloquent speech Capt. Burkitt spoke of the high character of General Vandervoort that could not be tarnished by the attacks of a few men who made general charges that they could not substantiate. He spoke of the high esteem in which General Vandervoort was held in the Grand Army of the Republic, of how he had been signally honored by the brave and sacrificing women of this land, members of the Red Cross Society, who had made him honorary president of the society, elected him the only male member of the Women's Relief Corps of the United States. Furthermore, Capt. Burkitt denied the right of Nebraska to say who was or was not good enough, respectable enough to represent Alabama, that that was for Alabama to say. Eltweed Pomeroy, of New Jersey, replied that he was pleased to see a Southerner opposing the doctrine of states' rights, as if that doctrine carried the right of one state to interfere with the choice of representatives by another.

In the course of the debate the charge that Hugo Pryor, of Ohio, who was represented in the convention by proxy, had been the recipient of Mark Hanna money was washed out before the committee without results, it being asserted by his defenders that a Hanna check for \$25, which he was charged with taking and which they did not deny he took, was taken for the purpose of exposing the corrupt practices resorted to by Senator Hanna. Finally, in the spirit of compromise, Mr. Washburn, of Massachusetts, moved the acceptance of the proxy held by General Vandervoort, and the question was put by Chairman Butler, who declared the motion to be rejected, but yielded to calls for a division, which resulted in 51 votes to accept the proxy; 54 against. On this roll call those members who were from states where there were contests were not permitted to vote.

Capt. Burkitt then took the floor and in an eloquent, logical and sustained address pointed out the obstacles to harmony in the Peoples party, pointed out how Chairman Butler was the making of the greatest obstacles, how his resignation would pave the way to the re-establishment of harmony. Marion Butler, he declared, was mistrusted by the members of the Peoples party and whether distrusted rightfully or wrongfully he could not lead with success. He pointed out how the solemn declaration placed in the Omaha platform that no office-holders should take part in Peoples party conventions had been trampled upon, how this had involved the party in its difficulties. True, that plank was not incorporated in the St. Louis platform, it could not well have been in a convention dominated by office-holders, and so it may be held that Senator Butler is not impeachable for ignoring that plank. But if he believed in that plank Capt. Burkitt asserted that he should resign as National Chairman and not undertake to manipulate the conventions, state or national of the Peoples party.

In conversation on the floor of the hall some time later Senator Butler dodged this question when squarely put to him by asserting that such rule affecting office-holders was not now binding upon him, that if it was he would observe it and finally when pushed into a corner asserted that he believed that federal appointees should not be permitted to take part in party conventions but that no harm came from Senators and Representatives taking such part. To go a little out of line we would remark that when squarely asked the question as to whether he favored fusion, Senator Butler dodged the question, he always dodges, by answering that he could not tell, that the answer depended on circumstances, that if one had asked him three weeks and a day ago if he was for fusion in North Carolina he would have said yes, if one had asked him if he was for fusion three weeks ago or any time since he would have said no.

Capt. Burkitt went on to show how Chairman Butler had opposed the straight Populist tickets put up in many states last fall and so raised the enmity of Populists. He might have added how Mr. Butler's paper, the *Caucasian*, week after week

accused Morgan, of Arkansas, Steinberger, of Kansas, and Zable, of Michigan, who were campaigning in Ohio for the straight Populist ticket, as being in the pay of Mark Hanna. Such charges men cannot forget, cannot forgive, they cannot follow the man who made them.

Buchanan, of New Jersey, replied shortly to Captain Burkitt, defending Chairman Butler. Debate was then summarily shut off on the report of the Committee on Credentials, and putting the question on its adoption Chairman Butler summarily declared it adopted and refused to recognize the calls for a division. Numerous questions of order were raised and Chairman Butler finally yielded to a demand for the calling of the roll. Pending the roll-call a motion for a recess was made and carried.

Buchanan, of New Jersey, in his short speech had made numerous appeals for harmony, declared that they, the fusionists, would go three-quarters of the way to meet the straight Populists if the mid-roaders would come only one-quarter way to meet them. The result was that when the recess was taken Chairman Park, of the Organization Committee, suggested to Chairman Butler, of the National Committee, the selection of a joint committee of conference. The suggestion meeting Butler's approval the following Committee of Conference was chosen: By Butler, Mr. Buchanan, Senator Allen and Congressman Gunn; by Park, Messrs. Burkitt, Morgan and Tracy. The Conference Committee got shortly to work.

The National Committee reconvened about 3 o'clock, the roll call on the adoption of the report of the Committee on Credentials being in order. Ex-Congressman Weller was on his feet at once to a point of order, endeavoring thereby to secure the chance of presenting the Iowa case before the National Committee. In this he did not succeed, and finally the roll call was proceeded with, resulting in the adoption of the report by a vote of 64 to 37, three straight Populists however, Weller, of Iowa, one of them, and sitting on a proxy of Prewitt, of Mississippi, changing their votes from no to aye with the purpose of re-opening the case. The Chair, however, recognized W. J. Danford, of Illinois, sitting on a proxy of Congressman Bell, of Colorado, who moved to lay a motion for reconsideration upon the table thereby shutting off debate. Chairman Park then intervened to announce the appointment of the Committee of Conference then in session which he expected would soon report, hoped that it would find a way for burying the hatchet and trusted that no acrimonious debate would be indulged in until the committee reported. Senator Butler replied in kind.

Soon after the Conference Committee declared its readiness to report. An executive session was moved and carried. Mr. Buchanan then reported that the committee had been unable to agree, that on all questions other than the removal of Senator Butler the committee had agreed, but on that one question the differences were irreconcilable. On all other questions agreement had been reached by the fusionists practically agreeing to all the propositions submitted by the sub-committee of the Organization Committee on the night before, save the one affecting the executive officers of the National Committee. The only change was to put in the demand that the National Committee agree to the calling of an early national convention, the word "reasonably" so as to read "reasonably early national convention," which it later cropped out was understood by Senator Allen to mean one month before the holding of the national conventions of the old parties.

Senator Allen proceeded to say that he had gone three-fourths of the way to meet the middle of the roaders, that he was willing to make any kind of a concession restricting the National Committee from giving out or entertaining further propositions of fusion if he could mollify the mid-roaders and secure harmony. Captain Burkitt replied that all the concessions so much spoken of amounted to nothing so long as the machinery of the Peoples party, the right to interpretate what reasonably early etc., meant

was left in the hands of Mr. Butler and on his removal he insisted. Senator Allen then went into a long personal explanation of his conduct at the St. Louis convention of 1896 which has so often been questioned, but which, given in executive session, we do not feel at liberty to divulge. Senator Butler took the floor to angrily assert that he would not retire under fire, that if he had resolved to retire before the making of the personal attacks upon him he would not now. General Tracy, of Texas, arose to say that if he was in Butler's place he would take a like stand upon which the suggestion was made that another conference committee be chosen. The suggestion was at once acted upon and a committee of six appointed: Washburn, of Massachusetts, at the head of the Butler representation; General Phillips, of Georgia; Granberry, of Texas, and Ferris, of Illinois, being chosen by Chairman Park. The National Committee then took a recess to nine o'clock, but it was nine o'clock before the Conference Committee got to work.

General Phillips, after conference with the straight Populists, agreed to yield the demand for Butler's resignation if the National Committee would agree to call a national nominating convention on or before September 1st next. The other propositions, submitted by General Phillips, were little changed from those previously made and agreed to, namely, that the National Committee would not receive proposals for fusion or make proposals for fusion and that it would keep hands off in local affairs, give the Populists of the respective states perfect home rule in state and municipal affairs.

It was 11 o'clock P. M. before the National Committee reconvened. Senator Allen having gotten wind of the new propositions of the straight Populists sought to turn a trick upon them by moving that pending the report of the Conference Committee the National Committee agree to those propositions previously agreed to in Conference Committee, one of them being the holding of the National Convention at a reasonably early date. With Butler displaced from the National Chairmanship the declaration for a reasonably early convention might have been acceptable to the straight Populists. But reasonably early meant a very different thing if interpreted by Senator Butler or some mid-roader. In the latter case it might be acceptable to the straight Populists, in the former it could not. And now yielding the demand for the resignation of Mr. Butler, a simple agreement to call an early National Convention could not be accepted. Yielding the Butler point the only safeguard was to fix the time for calling the National Convention. But Senator Allen's resolution was never put. For an hour and a half Ex-Congressman Weller held the floor on points of order to the infinite amusement of the committee.

After midnight the Conference Committee reported progress but asked to be given until morning to report. Senator Allen, growing impatient, moved a resolution, which carried, instructing them to report at 1 o'clock and a recess was taken to that hour. On reassembling the Conference Committee was ready to report. Ferris, of Illinois, had joined the Butlerites in a majority report, which did not demand the resignation of Chairman Butler, which repeated the demands as to the rejection of fusion propositions by the National Committee agreed upon in the other conference reports and calling a national convention of the Peoples party to outline the policy of the party, not nominate candidates, to meet in March, 1899. General Phillips, of Georgia and Granberry, of Texas, made a minority report making no demand for Chairman Butler's resignation, but standing out for a national nominating convention of the Peoples party to meet not later than September 1.

Debate followed in which General Phillips stood unyieldingly in the middle of the road. Some of the fusionists commenced to talk again of their willingness to yield three-fourths of the differences to meet the mid-roaders if the mid-roaders would yield one-fourth to meet them. Finally, along towards three in the

morning, the straight Populists withdrew the minority report, announced their willingness to accept the majority. Then the insincerity of the fusionists cropped out. They at once crawled, refused to accept the report of their own committee.

Senator Butler, from the chair, declared it to be folly to talk of holding a convention in March, 1899. Pass such resolution to-night, he declared, and in thirty days some three committeemen will join in requiring me to submit the question of rescinding such resolution to the National Committee for a referendum vote by mail and such call for a national convention will be rescinded. Then there came suggestions to refer the question at once to the National Committee for settlement by a referendum mail vote, by a vote of the full committee and not attempt to pass upon it in a committee meeting in which the vote would largely be cast by men sitting on proxies. Jo A. Parker, of Kentucky, showed up the insincerity of the fusionists who had protested their readiness to go three-fourths of the way to meet the straight Populists and now refused to come one-fourth of the way when the mid-roaders offered to go three-fourths of the way to meet them. During this debate the electric lights went out amid cries of "St. Louis," "remember St. Louis." They were soon turned on again. It was but an incident. Senator Allen said he could never agree to the holding of a national convention even to outline the policy of the party as early as March, 1899. Other Nebraskans, holding offices gained by fusion and sitting on proxies took occasion to declare that harmony was impossible, that it was time to force a split. Anything that would at all interfere with fusion they opposed.

Finally the motion recurred on the adoption of the majority report. It was voted down, 61 to 49, the fusionists voting down their own report. Then the question was put on striking out the last paragraph calling a national convention for March, 1899. It was carried, the mid roaders refusing to vote. Then the majority resolution, stripped of its meat but still, oddly enough, prohibiting Senator Butler from either making or entertaining any propositions for fusion as National Chairman, was put and carried, and on motion of Senator Allen the National Committee adjourned *sine die*, the straight Populists, who took no part in these closing proceedings, remaining seated in the hall.

Action of the Organization Committee and Call for Convention.

As the fusionists left the hall and the gray light of dawn came streaking in through the windows Chairman Park called the National Organization Committee to order. The roll call of the National Committee was tediously gone through with and a list made up of the National Committeemen present. Generals Vandervoort and Phillips, one a Union and one a Confederate soldier, then made short but eloquent addresses, in which they declared their firm belief that the split of the National Committee and the action of the night would lead to the rebuilding of the Peoples party on firm ground, upon which it could gather recruits, go forth to fight the battles of humanity, fight against the aggressions of the moneyed oligarchy, fight for the emancipation of our people from the slavery of poverty, fight for the salvation of our Republic, fight with success and reap the richest reward of victory, reap the reward of doing an infinite service to mankind, of disseminating happiness, alleviating the lot of the down-trodden, building up the fairest and purest and greatest of democracies of which man has ever dreamed. Adjournment was then taken about 5.30 A. M., Friday, to meet in the Paxton Hotel at 1 P. M. of the same day.

Shortly after the hour named Chairman Park called the National Organization Committee of the Peoples party together and called upon the Committee on Procedure and Resolutions, that had been appointed three days previously, for its report. The report, promptly presented by the chairman and ending with

calling the National Nominating Convention of the Peoples party to meet in Cincinnati, Ohio, Monday, September 5th next, was read and adopted without debate. The Organization Committee then adjourned *sine die*.

The address to the Populists of the United States and call for the National Nominating Convention of the Peoples party will be found elsewhere. One of the reasons for picking out Cincinnati, Ohio, as the place and September 5th as the time of holding the convention is that the Grand Army encampment will be held at Cincinnati at that time and much reduced railroad rates be ensured.

PEOPLES PARTY DOINGS.

WEDNESDAY, June 15th, the Democrats, silver Republicans and Populists, of Minnesota, held their their state conventions in

Minnesota. Minneapolis, simultaneously but separately, and with the avowed purpose of effecting fusion upon the same lines as in 1896, and indeed with the same ticket. The Democratic and silver Republican conventions were harmonious. No ripple disturbed their surfaces, they declared for fusion, nominated men for the places duly parcelled out to each of them by the joint conference committee that was selected and endorsed the nominees of the other conventions for the other places. Thus the Republicans were given the Governorship, and they nominated John Lind, whom the Democrats promptly endorsed. The Democrats were given the Secretary of State, State Treasurer and one Judge of the Supreme Court. They nominated men for such places and the Republicans endorsed. All other state offices and the major number were given to the Populists. But in the Peoples party convention there was not harmony, there was discord, there was dissension. The fusionists controlled the convention but a large minority of straight Populists, led by Ignatius Donnelly, was present. The relative strength of the two factions was shown by the first test vote which was had on the selection of a temporary Chairman, the fusionist candidate receiving 543 votes, the mid-road candidate 422. The convention finally ended in a split, Donnelly and the straight Populists remaining in the convention hall, when the fusionists, after carrying out the programme laid out for them, adjourned and left the hall. The lights were turned out and thus an adjournment of the mid-road Populists forced. But the next day they met, nominated a straight Populist ticket with L. C. Long, of Magnolia, for Governor, and "resolved to make this fall the most tremendous campaign ever seen in this state."

The day after the convention Dr. H. B. Fay, Secretary of the State Central Committee, telegraphed us to this effect: "Minnesota, led by our lion Donnelly, is for straight populism. The convention split squarely in half; the real Populists remained in the hall, put up a straight ticket and adopted a powerful platform. Will bury fusion forever in Minnesota. Two new national committeemen were chosen in place of the fusionists on the committee. Minnesota will be represented at national convention, July 4th," which means now September 5th.

THE Democrats and Populists of Kansas held their state conventions on the 15th and 16th days of June, the Democrats at Atchison, the Populists at Topeka, and agreed upon a fusion plan on the lines of that of the last campaign. Indeed, the members of the present state administration from Governor down were renominated as the fusion candidates by acclamation. In these nominations the silver Republicans also joined.

Among other acts of the Populist convention this is reported: Mr. Breidenthal, National Committeeman from Kansas, attending the meeting of the National Committee at Omaha and finding that Abe Steinberger, of Kansas, held a proxy entitling him to sit with the committee, telegraphed to the Kansas Populist convention asking if he should protest him. Steinberger is objectionable to the fusionists of Kansas because he is too straight for them, too unswerving in his adherence to principle. The answer was sent back to pitch him out the window, but Mr. Breidenthal did not enter a protest. Perhaps when Steinberger returns to Kansas he will see that Kansans have the opportunity of voting a straight Populist ticket. We believe he will.

AT DES MOINES, June 2nd, the Populists of Iowa, the mid-road Populists and those held by the courts, but not by Chairman Butler, to have the right to the name Peoples party, held their state convention. Fusion with any party organization was naturally condemned as only productive of confusion, and a model Populist platform was adopted. The following ticket was nominated by acclamation, the utmost harmony prevailing:

Iowa.
Secretary of State, R. M. Daniels, of Warren county.
Auditor, C. A. Wickes, Decatur county.
Treasurer, A. M. Hutchinson, Pottawattamie county.
Supreme Judge, L. H. Weller, Chickasaw county.
Attorney General, J. A. Lowenberg, Wapello county.
Clerk of Supreme Court, Alli Reed, Muscatine county.
Railroad Commissioner, Joseph Ash, Polk county.

For Members of the National Committee, L. H. Weller, Alli Reed and J. O. Beebe were elected.

The above duly chosen members of the National Committee were not recognized at Omaha. But it makes little difference, for in the new Peoples Party National Committee bound soon to be organized they will find recognition.

Summer Outings.—Personally-Conducted Tours via Pennsylvania Railroad.

The Pennsylvania Railroad Company announces the following personally-conducted tours for the summer and early autumn of 1898:—

To the North (including Watkins Glen, Niagara Falls, Thousand Islands, Montreal, Quebec, Au Sable Chasm, Lakes Champlain and George, Saratoga, and a daylight ride through the highlands of the Hudson), July 26 and August 16. Rate, \$100 for the round trip from New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, covering all expenses of a two weeks' trip. Proportionate rates from other points.

To Yellowstone Park and the Trans-Mississippi Exposition on a special train of Pullman sleeping, compartment, observation, and dining cars, allowing eight days in "Wonderland" and two days at Omaha, September 1. Rate, \$235 from New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington; \$230 from Pittsburg.

To Niagara Falls, excursion tickets good to return within ten days will be sold on July 21, August 4 and 18, September 1, 15, and 29, at rate of \$10 from Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington. These tickets include transportation only, and will permit of stop over within limit at Buffalo, Rochester, and Watkins on the return trip.

Two ten-day tours to Gettysburg, Luray Caverns, Natural Bridge, Virginia Hot Springs, Richmond, and Washington, September 28 and October 19. Rate, \$65 from New York, \$63 from Philadelphia. Proportionate rates from other points.

For itineraries and further information apply to ticket agents, or address Geo. W. Boyd, Assistant General Passenger Agent, Philadelphia.—*Adv.*

Wisconsin Farm Lands.

There is a rush now to the choice unoccupied farm lands along the line of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway in Central Wisconsin.

Good quarter sections can now be had for \$7.00 and upwards per acre, one-third cash, balance on long time at current rate of interest.

For further particulars address W. E. Powell, General Immigration Agent, 410 Old Colony Bldg., Chicago, Ill.—*Adv.*

The Pioneer Limited

Is the name of the only perfect train in the world, now running every night between Chicago, St. Paul and Minneapolis via the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway—the pioneer road of the West in adopting all improved facilities for the safety and enjoyment of passengers. An illustrated pamphlet, showing views of beautiful scenery along the route of the Pioneer Limited, will be sent free to any person upon receipt of two-cent postage stamp. Address Geo. H. Heafford, General Passenger Agent, Chicago, Ill.—*Adv.*

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Latest official indexed maps of the world, Cuba and Philippine Islands for pocket use, issued by the Chicago & North-Western R'y, free, for two cent stamp.

T. P. Vaille, 601 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.—*Adv.*

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The is a difference in parquetry—difference in intrinsic goodness, difference in the care of making and of choosing woods.

But half the battle is in the laying. Expert nailers are not necessarily expert handlers of parquetry. We employ a few experienced and capable workmen and pay them by the day. We have long since stopped the chance results of piece work.

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Most charming effects.

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High and durable polish.

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The Oriental Rug Room, third floor, Market street, has several examples of parquetry—fine today, despite continued use of much greater severity than a home room would get.

Orders are taken there—or illustrated booklet and prices will be mailed.

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This new French medical discovery has been used with remarkable success in Bellevue Hospital, New York; Howard Hospital, Philadelphia; Maryland and Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore; and in various other hospitals in the prominent cities.

What a Physician Says:

.....
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
Baltimore, 5th April, 1897.
The experiments made here at the hospital with the Polynice Oil, witnessed by me, having been very successful, I hereby recommend it in all cases of rheumatism
(Signed) DR. F. L. ROGER.

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Dr. Alexandre, specialist of Paris, 1218 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

BOOK REVIEWS.

By Ice-drift and Sleigh to the Pole.

Farthest North. By DR. FRIDTJOF NANSEN. With an Appendix by Otto Sverdrup, Captain of the Fram. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$3.

There is overmuch fine talk about the art of writing. Here is a book that suggests a text for a homily on the science of reading. With the thermometer skylarking near the nineties and every fibre of mind and body on the simmer it is just salvation to turn from the bloodthirsty chronicles of expected war to this well-timed reminder of measureless seas of ice, and let heated imagination gorge on bergs and foaming waves of cream. This true literary antidote for midsummer humidity of mind should bring a fortune to the sagacious purveyors. Nansen is beyond need of any such trivial aid to happiness. His cup of bliss overflows now, but for three years it was a frozen mass of very doubtful solubility. All the world glories in Nansen's triumph of exploration, a triumph of intellect and splendid faith in his all-round powers. The Arctic seas have for more than a century been the sepulchre of noble ambitions and of many a heroic adventurer. The daring exploits that have crowned the heroes of war on land and sea are mostly of the admired dramatic kind, a quick dash inspired by "death or glory" courage. The humbler braveries of torpedo boat crews and city fire brigades, every whit as heroic, perhaps in a higher degree, because performed in the course of everyday duty, fail to get their due of applause if not in some way "dramatic." Most of the laurels heaped upon Nansen by admiring crowds have been won by his success, not by his slow struggle for it. He was the same stamp of conquering hero at every moment of those three laborious experimental years that he was when he came back, but it was his coming back, not his plodding bravery, that kindled popular enthusiasm. This daily record of all the ups and downs of that long, uncertain, perilous, spirit-testing adventure deepens that enthusiasm as we gradually realize how tremendous an adventure it was.

Nansen tells in his introductory statement how he got his unique idea. As far back as 1884, being then in his twenty-third year, "I happened to see an article by Professor Mohn in the Norwegian *Morgenblad*, in which it was stated that sundry articles which must have come from the Jeannette had been found on the southwest coast of Greenland. He conjectured that they must have drifted on a floe right across the Polar Sea. It immediately occurred to me that here lay the route ready to hand. If a floe could drift right across the unknown region, that drift might also be enlisted in the service of exploration, and my plan was laid." We lament the failure of the ill-fated Jeannette expedition, fated, nevertheless, to pioneer the most successful of all expeditions. There is consolation in the thought, but it avails little to those who perished in sowing the seed. "The Jeannette expedition," said Nansen in addressing the scientists on his proposed voyage, "is the only one, in my opinion, that started on the right track, though it may have been unwittingly and unwillingly." From its experience he decided to find the natural current and work with it, instead of repeating other explorers' methods and work against nature's forces. The thirty-three pages of introduction, which gives Nansen's prospective plans as stated to various geographical societies in the next few years, must be read to appreciate his remarkable natural gifts and attainments. There is a fascination in this display of cold calculation, mastery of a complex and mysterious subject in detail, lit into poetic beauty by his glowing genius, for no lesser word fits the case. He told his grave and reverend seigniors how he proposed to build a little ship of about 170 tons, "just big enough to contain supplies of coals and provisions for twelve men for five years," and strong enough to stand, shaped also to dodge, the roughest ice pressure. "For the success of such an expedition two things only are required, good clothing and plenty of food." Of course the great geographers, theorists, and returned explorers, mostly extinct volcanoes, were dead against the youngster's audacious scheme. Nares, the Englishman, who went out with a government outfit to find the pole, and brought back as his find the word "impracticable," would not endorse Nansen's theory, though he frankly owned his mistake when he congratulated the hardy Norseman on his return. And General Greely filled long and learned pages of print with proofs that everything Nansen assumed was wrong, and that all his plans would fail. Nansen takes a quiet revenge by re-printing Greely's ill-conditioned rebuke of him for leaving the Fram in the care of

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Sverdrup, who, in bringing it and its crew home safe and sound, was no less completely successful than Nansen in his long and arduous ice-journey with Johansen. Greely's prediction that Sverdrup's fame will eclipse Nansen's comes ill from one to whose luckless efforts Nansen so generously acknowledges his indebtedness for a great idea.

The Fram started on midsummer day, 1893. The building of the ship reads like an epic. Everything depended on her strength and form. Many models were abandoned before the right one was hit upon. The frame timbers had been seasoning for thirty years. The ship's sides were twenty-eight inches thick. She registered 402 tons net, and cost about \$80,000, nearly double the original estimate. The King and Storching of Norway gave about that sum towards the \$125,000 required for the expedition. The crew numbered twelve, with Nansen as the fortune-bringing thirteenth.

The log-book of the Fram during its snail-pace drift is by far the most entertaining Arctic record we have read. Nansen is a first-rate chronicler, by turns sentimental, racy, business-like, dreamy, and always readable. They had a jovial time, on the whole, celebrating each other's birthdays, observing national festivals, and carrying on as light-heartedly as if they were on a pleasure trip. Nansen's genial and buoyant temperament seems to have thawed whatever elements of discontent human nature carries around on jaunts of this kind, when the monotony of ship life grows like that of a prison. Interesting as this portion of the narrative is, the sledge journey of Nansen and Johansen across the ice, lasting sixteen months, is fuller of the sort of adventures youth loves to devour. The preparations had to be most elaborate. Food, clothing, sledges, kayaks, everything, was reduced to a minimum of weight and size. The eighteen dogs were reckoned on to furnish meat for each other in case provisions fell short, which they did, although walruses, bears and a seal or two stocked the larder at times. The dogs had to be killed at intervals until none were left. The dreary winter was enough to make suicide attractive. If the perilous catching of big game brought good cheer to mind and body, it had its drawbacks besides the risks of the chase. It was filthy work, cutting blubber and flesh to store.

"The clothes we lived in were horrible. We would sit up for hours in our sleeping bags and talk of (all the luxuries of home life, baths, good food, etc.) Fancy being able to throw away the heavy, oily rags we had to live in, glued as they were to our bodies. Our trousers stuck fast to our knees so that when we moved they tore the skin inside our thighs till it was all raw and bleeding. . . . I have never before understood what a magnificent invention soap really is. We made all sorts of attempts to wash the worst of the greasy dirt away; water had no effect on it; it was better to scour one's self with moss and sand. The best method was to get our hands thoroughly lubricated with warm bear's blood and train oil and then scrape it off again with moss. They thus became as white and soft as the hands of the most delicate lady, and we could scarcely believe that they belonged to our own bodies. When there was none of this toilet preparation to be had we found the next best plan was to scrape our skin with a knife."

The recipe may commend itself to some enterprising merchant. Their clothes could only be made supple by scraping, and the fat thus gathered came in handy as fuel. Their hair and beards grew wild; it and their faces were coal-black all the winter. There was no better pastime than sleep, at which they got so expert that they were able to put in as much as twenty hours out of twenty-four, and what with the exercise got in hunting, and their strictly temperate diet, they not only kept their health but were happy. The details of diet, etc., are exceedingly interesting and often surprising.

The unexpected meeting between Jackson, of the Jackson-Harmsworth expedition, and Nansen is reported as it happened, and reminds the reader of Stanley's memorable self-introduction to Livingstone. The scientific aspects and results of Nansen's expedition must be left for future consideration. Enough now to commend this as a book for almost every class of reader; one of the great world-books which mark epochs in the lives of nations.

On the Winning Side. By JEANNETTE H. WALWORTH. New York: R. F. Penno & Co. \$1.25.

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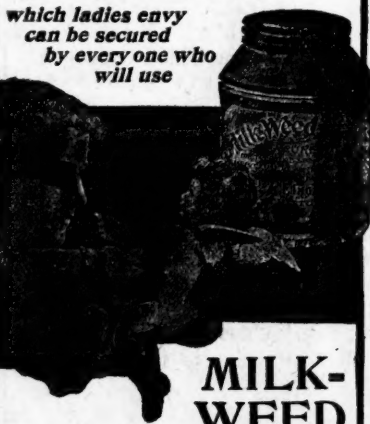


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